

Christian Order

Summary of Contents for October 1965

REFLECTIONS ON A REVOLUTION

The Editor

THE AGE OF UNREASON

William Lawson, S.J.

STOP: AND MORE STOP

Margaret Rowe

PARISH COMMUNITY?

Vincent Rochford

STUDENTS ABROAD

Robert O'Neill, M.H.M.

ANY QUESTIONS ?

J. M. Jackson

Contents

Page

- 577 INTEGRITY AND THE IMAGE-
MAKERS

The Editor

- 580 AGE OF UNREASON

Margaret Rowe

- 590 CHRISTIAN LIFE—
PARISH COMMUNITY?

Vincent Rochford

- 594 CURRENT COMMENT: REFLECTIONS
ON A REVOLUTION

The Editor

- 603 STUDENTS ABROAD—1

Robert O'Neill, M.H.M.

- 606 INDUSTRIAL ANGLE:
STOP AND MORE STOP

J. M. Jackson

- 614 ANY QUESTIONS?

William Lawson, S.J.

- 619 LEARNING FROM THE COMMUNISTS
—8

Douglas Hyde

- 638 BOOK REVIEWS

Paul Crane, S.J.

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EDITED BY

Paul Crane SJ

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Integrity and the Image-makers

THE EDITOR

It would appear that the resignation of Sir Alec Douglas-Home was due in the last analysis to his realisation that a sizeable segment of the Conservative Party considered his temperament unsuited to the requirements of national leadership. His image, they said, was wrong. In the same breath, they admitted, with everyone else, to his integrity and honesty of purpose. One concludes that, today in Britain, these by themselves are not enough. At best, they are of secondary importance. What counts above all is the projection of a personality suited to the current inclination of the electorate. Nowadays this is not primarily in the direction of integrity. Sir Alec was an indifferent performer on TV in any event. Even had it been possible to put him over to the viewing public for the man of honest purpose that he is; no matter how brilliant the success of the image-makers in this respect, he would have had to go because the image would have been the wrong one for contemporary Britain. What counts today is what the public wants and what they appear to want primarily is not a man of integrity to lead them, but a competent operator upgraded from amongst themselves. In today's world where all are to be thought equal the nation will consent to be ruled only by those who prove themselves

more equal than others. And the criterion here is not virtue but competence. The man fit to rule others is the man who presents an image of smart management. Virtue is not actively discarded by the many who think in this fashion. It is simply not taken into account.

This, I think, is the mind of the image-makers, not only in the Tory Party, but in whatever capacity they are to be found in Britain today. How accurately it reflects the mind and mood of the public at large is, perhaps, questionable. It could be that the image-makers are the prisoners of a false subjectivism; that absorption with their task has led them into mistaking for public opinion what is no more than a projection of their own mentality. What they take for the mind of the public is no more than the mind of themselves and their friends. They are trapped within their own magic circle. Be that as it may, these now constitute the new Establishment. They set the pace, whilst the mass of the people remain, as they always have done, without active influence on the formation of what passes for the public mind.

Whether the public will continue to accept the new men, allowing themselves to be led by the new Establishment, is clearly a matter of moment. I am inclined to think that it will, if only for the fact that the tendency of the bottom is to take its cue from the top. Moreover, there are indications that the image of the image-makers and their friends finds favour within a circle of the British public that is widening in distressful fashion. Without paying overmuch court to competence, these are interested primarily in easy returns when and wherever they are to be found. What they want is not an honest buck but a fast one; the reward without the effort, without reference, that is, to the need for hard work or the claims of integrity and courtesy. These will welcome the new men not for any efficiency they may possess, but as exemplifying their own hope, which is to get to the top and get there quick, irrespective of methods used or the quality of work done. It is perhaps, no coincidence that the world of Britain's image-makers should itself be one of appearances. It strikes the observer

as singularly without substance. Too few of its inhabitants are inclined at present to assume responsibility or engage in hard work. It is, after all, common knowledge that Britain, at the moment, is living by borrowing; which means that it is living on someone else's hard work. Our productivity rate since the war has remained amongst the lowest in the western world.

One has reason to wonder, therefore, whether, on their chosen ground of material advantage, the image-makers and their associates are not guilty of considerable miscalculation. It would appear to be their view that Britain can be refashioned by competence alone. I would have thought the recipe defective, in that it leaves no place for virtue as an essential ingredient of healthy economic life. There is, of course, no intention of passing it off here as good dope for the people: virtue is something to be sought for its own sake. My intention is merely to stress that competence is many-sided. It can be used with brilliance to build a wide-boy's world as well as a productive economy. Divorced from the control of virtue, I see no reason why this country, in its present temper, should not employ it increasingly for the former purpose.

It may well be that Sir Alec Douglas-Home had to resign because, in his case, integrity was not enough. It would be fatal to think that competence is. What gives cause for concern in contemporary Britain is the apparent assumption of the new Establishment that this is indeed the case.

Without Discrimination

"It (psychology) places all states of the soul on the same level 'without discrimination between values, as though good and evil were external to them, as though the effort towards the good could be absent at any moment from the thinking of any man'." — From *Simone Weil* by Jacques Cabaud, p. 233.

Have there always been complaints about young people? Or are the 'ancientry' more put upon now than ever before? Today parents have been jailed, fines imposed, newspaper publicity tried, youth juries set up, but no definite solution seems to have been found. The rebirth of a sense of responsibility, and of a sense of sin throughout the community is needed.

The Age of Unreason

MARGARET ROWE

WHY does Harry wreck telephone kiosks? What makes Biddy antisocial with contemporaries and insolent to her elders? Or Tom a bully? Are they sick, bad, bored, or trying to impress someone? And if so, why?

It has often been stated, rather too glibly, that there is no such thing as a delinquent child, but only children of delinquent parents. But the fact remains that average, law-abiding parents, who have seemingly done their best to raise God-fearing children, and have neither pampered nor neglected them, not infrequently find themselves with young hoodlums on their hands.

In any case, most parents cannot be completely accountable for the character, temperament, personality, talents and situation adjustments of each of their children. Formerly, when families were generally large, much less attention was paid to personal idiosyncrasies. Parents had not the time, and in any case, most rough edges were smartly knocked off the extrovert by the remainder of the brood. Unpopularity was an efficient antidote to incivism. Rarely would one of a family of five or six be heard moaning: "If only mother had not so consistently favoured my younger brother, my attitude to life would never have become warped". One feels tempted to retort to this with a brief but impolite epithet.

Not only have magistrates and prison governors, clergy, social and juvenile court workers had their say about teenage toughs, but journalists, novelists and psychiatrists, professional and amateur, have all offered various explanations for their unreasonable behaviour, and have produced a variety of remedies.

Where the cause is obviously in bad environment, broken homes or educational subnormality, the remedy is obvious, if too late. But it is not enough to generalise that all juvenile antisocial behaviour is "psychopathic" or "psychological".

Most people reject the old-fashioned disciplinary method or birching either as prevention or cure. Many have suggested that youthful offenders should be fined heavily and made to pay for the damage they have caused. But recent instances have made nonsense of this suggestion. When a youth, fined almost £100 for violence and offered time to pay, can casually write a cheque for that figure, then clearly there is no penalty involved. Instead he is offered further scope for the exhibitionist streak that led him to the original misdeed. And in any case, his father will probably pay the fine rather than have his name involved.

America has had the juvenile delinquent problem longer and more intensely than we have. Apart from the larger population and the higher proportion of broken and unsatisfactory homes, their children are even more spoiled and self-indulgent than ours. In desperation, some of their magistrates have applied sharp remedies, most of which have had to be abandoned as unsuccessful.

Punish the Parents

This procedure has been recently urged over here. More than ten years ago, American judges, weary of the protests by parents of juveniles on charge that "We can't do a thing with him", decided that the parents must pay the penalty for that most deplorable admission. The sentence was transferred from the offending minor to the parents who had allowed him to become unmanageable. The children were turned over to the welfare authorities and the

parents served a gaol sentence. This treatment was drastic, but as parents were consistently shirking their responsibilities, magistrates demanded legislation to make parents legally responsible for their children's crimes. Neighbours who suffered damage to property or the corruption of their own young, favoured a punish-the-parents law, particularly in cases where previous warnings had been ignored. The principle was that "skin must suffer before skin grieves".

The experiment merely served to accelerate what it aimed at halting by effecting a complete break-up of homes. Fathers lost their jobs and whole families were in financial difficulties, often causing permanent mutual bitterness. Parents then punished the child severely because "This is *all* your fault". The children "got even" by getting into further trouble. Punishing parents, one judge stated, doubled the number of delinquents.

Making Youth take the Rap

A more recent experiment looked hopeful. Juvenile offenders were to be treated as adults, so that young hooligans could no longer shelter behind the juvenile court, but had to appear in public courtroom, attended by all the usual publicity. Newspaper reports identified the offender, instead of mentioning the escapades of a "fifteen-year-old robber". His friends, relatives and neighbours saw his name in print, and read the ugly record of his deeds. His parents suffered the humiliation of seeing their name publicly displayed, whatever their social status. Many claim that this kind of firmness has prevented many young toughs from graduating to more serious trouble; but not all. For many, alas, the notoriety of a conviction has now become a status symbol, so that this "punishment" is in fact what they are seeking.

Youthful assessors of youthful Misdeeds

Another widely-publicised U.S. experiment is original, and has produced results. An unofficial but very effective panel or "Youth Jury", with a changing personnel, advise the judge on how to deal with teenage lawbreakers. Experience

has proved that they, better than their elders, can quickly sum up their contemporaries, see through lies, recognise the truth of their statements, and understand youthful reactions that seem quite illogical to an older person. They can spot the spoiled and irresponsible or the victim of circumstances, the "bad egg" or the first offender who will be cured by this scare provided he is not too harshly dealt with, or the smart aleck whom only stern measures will deflate.

And — far more important — the psychological effect on the offenders is startling. The youth on charge realises he cannot fool these young people, and does not try to brazen it out as he often does with an adult. On the other hand, mental processes that would seem quite irrational to an experienced judge are readily comprehensible to them, and they adjust their scale of sentences accordingly.

It also adjusts the offenders' scale of values. There is no pseudo-glamour in being a rebel when sentenced by one of their own age-group. They are simply naughty girls and irresponsible boys. The judge said: "It cuts the worst hooligans down to size. I can sentence them and they glare at me. They don't glare at the Youth Jury — they look at them and wilt".

Restitution by Offender

Another suggestion recently put forward in the Catholic Press in this country is that an effective punishment for the juvenile wrecker could be compulsory relief work, provided any social worker would take them on. This has been a feature of the "Youth Jury" who have invented several unusual and effective sentences. One was night duty over weekends in a hospital emergency ward, where maimed or dying victims of car smashes, fights and violence are brought in, usually mutilated, often screaming in agony. It seems a drastic treatment to force youngsters to witness these broken or dead or wounded cases, but it teaches them what a gaol sentence never would, particularly in the matter of careless driving. They see the results of what they themselves have done, or might have done. This sen-

tence has never once been followed by a second offence. In some cases it has resulted in such deep heart-searching that a complete reform has resulted: school work has improved, a sense of responsibility has developed. One boy, after three weekends spent thus, became a dedicated social worker himself.

There are other novel but less severe sentences imposed — sweeping a city park, polishing the brasswork at a police or fire station. Parents pay fines, but when the offender has to work out his sentence with his own labour and a little humiliation, he knows that he is being punished, and does not forget why. In any case, a fine or prison sentence does nothing to help the victims, and only hardens the offenders. They must work with their own hands to restore what their senseless violence has destroyed.

Nothing to Do

One of the most disturbing features of the current prevalence of adolescent mischief is that the offenders are often from good homes where they have known no need or lack of material comfort. Ill-treatment or starvation by an alcoholic or degenerate parent has not driven them on to the street to steal; oppression and deprivation has not bred hatred of their better endowed neighbours and a desire to damage their possessions. Many wreckers are well-dressed (though often unwashed) with money in their pockets and a good address on their identity cards.

Responsible adults ponder the question how far they are to blame in failing to provide the necessary stimulus to ideals or outlet for youthful energy. But the young people who really wish to find a satisfying and productive safety valve do not have to look far — not past their own home. We hear teenagers complaining "What can we do? Where can we go? There's no challenge in life!"

Well, one place they can go is home. They can paint the house, mow the lawn, wash the car, visit the sick and poor and lonely of their own parish, study harder, work for others. Their parents owe them no entertainment, any more than society owes them a living. On the other hand, they

owe humanity their time, energy, talents, love, so that poverty, war, loneliness, sickness, may be banished from the earth. They are old enough to share some of the responsibilities their parents have borne for them since their birth. Mothers and fathers frequently deprive themselves of comforts to give their children luxuries. Well, now they are old enough to think about repaying some of that love and unselfishness. Parents have made the deprivation gladly; the least the recipients can do is be grateful. Let them go home and show this appreciation by being, at the very least, helpful and pleasant. In other words, let them grow up and think about accepting mature responsibility.

Parents, however, often need reminding that their children are not their own, but God's, and that one day they will be required to give a strict account of their stewardship. The parent who goes through life wailing "I can't do a thing with him" because of lack of proper discipline, will have a very poor defence at the ultimate tribunal. The parents who have withheld an element essential for a full development—parental discipline—have discharged their duties badly however well they have cared for his physical hygiene. What children usually need is not adult reasoning, but imposed control, and parents have failed their child and God, if they have lavished on him every material comfort but omitted to mention restraint or provide occasions for its exercise.

Lack of Endurance

Conspicuous among young people today is a general acceptance of short-term goals and satisfaction with the second-rate. They love the ephemeral and gimmicky, refuse to wait for anything they desire; are reluctant to stick at anything once the novelty wears off, while at the same time they are fascinated by the shiniest veneer; and are insistent that all the goods, prerogatives and benefits for which their elders have worked for years should be handed to them on a platter NOW. "Social anxieties" which half a century ago were confined to the so-called "underprivileged" strata of society have crept upwards. I do not

mean merely that people who can afford to dress themselves smartly and cleanly elect to slouch about in trench coats and scuffed boots with grimy necks and a vocabulary of a dozen beatnik words. Teenage tastes for such peculiarities have always verged on the bizarre, and a perennial symptom of youth is the desire to shock the old and staid. (Which of us has so short a memory as not to recall the zoot suits of the thirties, when no socially conscious teenager would be seen except in white Sox—compulsorily spelt thus—and saddle shoes, sloppy-joe sweaters and long swinging necklaces of macaroni beads? Or the flagpole sitters? Or the complicated handshakes? . . .)

The following quotation is attributed by Plato to Socrates (400 B.C.): "Children now love luxury; they have bad manners, contempt for authority; they have become tyrants, not the servants of their households. They contradict their parents, chatter before company, gobble up dainties at the table, tyrannize their teachers".

Apparently young people today aren't so different from what they always were. "Ever that shall be that ever has been", declared the Royal Cynic. "That which has happened once shall happen again; there can be nothing new, here under the sun" (Eccles. 1:9). And youth, it seems, has been steadily going its antisocial way ever since Cain became the first juvenile delinquent at about the same time he became the first juvenile. But today there are a lot more of them, and their potentialities for damage have reached an all-time high. Besides that, they are mobile, far-ranging, high-powered, and so more potent than ever before both for good and for evil.

Who is Responsible?

Why is it that teenagers are so often in open rebellion against authority, deliberately thwart their own interests, and are deaf on principle to all parental suggestions? Those psychiatrists and self-styled moralists who preach that there is no absolute moral law will claim that the young wish to test their ability to think things out independently. But previous generations of adolescents did just

that, without such widespread and exaggerated over-protest; and the greatest flaw in the argument is that "thinking things out" is precisely what they do not do. Today there is a general lack of reasoning behind much activity, which seems more the prompting of blind and irrational instincts. And yet these same inexplicable creatures can drop on to the sofa beside the first available parent and ask, apparently inconsequentially, to be permitted to learn Braille so that they can do a stint at the Blind School helping those poor little clots.

As far as punishment is concerned, most magistrates rightly feel that imprisoning youths merely assures a regular crop of recruits to the army of adult criminals. On the other hand, there are equally strong views that a lot of trouble has stemmed from the deliberate policy of coddling young offenders under the foolish philosophy that they are "sick" or "emotionally disturbed" and so cannot choose between right and wrong. This degenerates into the impression that morality is a myth and anything goes. Who is not emotionally disturbed at some time or other? (Especially the one whose premises have been wrecked!)

Fundamentally the solution lies in acceptance of responsibility. But how is a sense of responsibility to be instilled, if children have been raised with no respect for legitimate authority. Many of them hold the law in supreme contempt, regard free will to choose between right and wrong as a Victorian anachronism, maintain that they are the innocent victims of a blind fate, circumstances, environment, or anything but their own responsible choice. They are free to choose only what they want to do.

It is essential when dealing with a delinquent child to assume that he possesses a workable set of principles, standards of values, and ideals. This is something the traditional therapists rarely do. But if every welfare worker held such a child responsible to himself for what he does, that child would eventually discover the pleasure to be derived from doing well and getting credit for it, rather than being perpetually unpopular for wrong-doing which really gives him no satisfaction even in the performing.

Someone once said that teenagers are like aeroplanes: we only hear about the ones that crash. There is something in this, but today the crashes are far more numerous and serious than any healthy society can or should be asked to support.

Some parents will spend anything at all on their children for their happiness, except time. When Mum and Dad are huddled over the TV set all evening, frowning warning signals if Johnny speaks, he is likely to wander out in search of someone to whom he can air his views. And all too often Mum and Dad not only let him go—they don't notice that he's gone or bother to enquire later the company he was in.

How few there are who ever seriously think things over or seek advice. A child wants something and it is given to him; a teenager wants something and he takes it. If he can afford to, he pays a pound down and commits himself (or his father) to the long-term repayment of a high-interest loan. If not, he may just take it anyway. Where did he learn this philosophy of selfishness if not in his own home?

The original Delinquency

As long as there has been recorded history, man seems to have had a tendency to believe that the time-honoured virtues are disappearing, that men just aren't what they were, and nothing is as it was in the "good old days". Adam, strictly speaking, was the only human being who could justly make any such claim. We talk today as though virtue and morality and honour were gilt-edged bonds which reached their maximum value in the Victorian era, and that our joint capital has been gradually diminishing ever since. Two world wars have sadly reduced our investment, and the devaluation has become much more rapid in the second half of this century. But our Victorian grandfathers thought precisely the same thing, and *their* grandparents felt that the gold standard was dwindling in their own time. If the devaluation has been going on so long, why aren't we quite bankrupt?

We will never get anywhere with young people if we

insist on pointing to the Victorians as the models *par excellence* of honour and integrity. This is a different world we live in today, and the dilemmas and catastrophes of our time have to be faced by those who live in it. It is hardly surprising that "unsatisfactory behaviour" is so rife among young people who have been reared in a materialistic, hedonistic atmosphere where avarice and selfishness are rampant, where God is rejected and all but banished from school and society. The tendency towards delinquency is as old as original sin; indeed it is its manifestation. "Man has all the thoughts and imaginations of his heart, even in youth, so bent towards evil" (Gen. 8:21). The only difference is that today we seem much more ingenious in finding new excuses for evil and euphemisms for sin. Our sense of right and wrong has been replaced by the nostrums of theorists who tell us that suppression only unbalances us, and that unless we indulge our "bent towards evil" we are heading for a psychosis. From there it is one short quick step to the counsel: "Do as you feel". And they do! However, there seem to be far more symptoms of mental illness among those who refuse to repress any instinct than in those who obey the old-fashioned and unpalatable injunctions about virtue and moral good. One frightening manifestation is that the offenders are now picking up the jargon of the psychiatrists and feeding it back to them. It is not uncommon for boys interviewed by magistrates and probation officers to state blandly that they were "emotionally disturbed" and upset in their minds. When laughed at, one boy bridled and retorted indignantly: "If you don't believe me, just phone my psychiatrist over at the clinic!"

The responsibility must finally rest with parents, for those who pamper their children, or give in to every whim and demand for the sake of peace, are abusing God-given responsibility. It is a lack of true love for the child, and a restoration of sound home discipline (with corporal punishment when and as necessary) is the only means of laying a sound foundation for the self-discipline so lacking in today's rising generation. Parents will, in turn, reap the benefit of increased respect and authority.

THE CHRISTIAN LIFE

Father Rochford examines the factors which make for unity and disunity in a modern industrial parish. And suggests the formation and encouragement of small groups through whom Christ can emerge to become the centre of a true Christian community.

Parish Community?

VINCENT ROCHFORD

WHEN West Ham won the European football cup, the whole of London's East End went out to celebrate what all felt was *their* triumph. In no other part of vast, sprawling London would such widespread excitement be thinkable. From Stepney, through Limehouse and Poplar and East Ham and Barking the picture was the same; men coming out on the streets as soon as the match had ended, greeting perfect strangers, going out for a drink. Nor did it matter if you happened to be a regular supporter of Charlton or even of Millwall; on this occasion West Ham represented us all and brought to all a common thrill of victory. Could you imagine such general popular rejoicing over a football match in — well, no names — most other areas of London? It would take far more than that to persuade people to speak to each other when they had not been introduced! It reflects the history of London's East End: a vast homogeneous area peopled solely by manual workers who have behind them a long memory of casual labour in the docks, of insecurity and of concern for their neighbours. All this has been shared together, and so areas have been welded into genuine communities, and this consciousness persists today, even if weakened by rehousing and — dare one say it? — by affluence. The dormitory suburbs lack this sense of community. People have not the

same roots in their neighbourhood, and share the bourgeois idea of keeping oneself to oneself.

Neighbours and Community

It is clear that mere proximity does not of itself construct a sense of community. You may live in a suburban street for ten years and at the end of it not know more than the names of one's immediate neighbours. Their religion, their politics, their job one may well know nothing about; nor care. It needs a common ideal, or a purpose in common, or a common history, but always something shared, to weld people together into a conscious group. This being so, it seems obvious that a Catholic parish ought to be a community. All the parishioners share the same outlook on life, they live fairly near one another, all use the same church on Sundays, all are interested in the common parish projects and problems. All these influences must surely draw them together and give a feeling that they share in something deep and fundamental, creating a common consciousness. Sometimes this is true. Often it is not. Isn't it true that where a Catholic community does exist, it is built on a natural community that already exists because of purely secular links—families that have lived in the street for years, maybe even some generations, men who work in the same factory and so on? Where this is true—and almost always it is in a manual working population—the fact is that their faith is merely adding an additional bond to the natural bonds that have already created a community and are keeping it in existence.

Divergences in a Parish

In a modern city many factors militate against the formation of a Christian community. For example the existence of a multi-racial parish, half of whose inhabitants are Irish; with an English-born Italian colony; Caribbeans, with a few Nigerian students, some Maltese, Poles and so on, as well as the native Catholics. Again, numbers of parishioners may be only temporary dwellers. Their lodgings are inadequate for rearing their family, sometimes even shocking—take a

couple, for instance, with two small children, paying £4 for a brick air-raid shelter with cellar for bedroom. Many of them are looking forward to moving out and finding better accommodation. They strike no roots and tend to "use" their parish church without developing an affection for it. In the modern city, too, people's centres of interest are often far from where they live. They are absent most of the working day, then sports, hobbies, amusements, friendships keep them away in the evenings and at weekends. For them the neighbourhood is only a dormitory. So the Sunday congregations consist of many different groups, all of them making use of the same church, but with little or no feeling of union with the other groups.

The Eucharist, the Centre of Unity?

Some of us would say, "But what does it matter how many groups you have, of different races and traditions, different social classes and so forth, since all are gathered round the same altar? All are united together in worshipping the same common Father, in joining in the self-offering of the same Jesus Christ, made present amongst them, and all eating the same Christ as their soul's nourishment. Compared with this unifying fact, differences of origin or occupation must count for little or nothing".

Those given to reflection might add: "And whereas all this may have been hidden from Catholics when the Mass was an act of the priest attended by many individuals 'hearing Mass', the liturgical reform begun by the Vatican Council shows even the simplest person that this isn't 'on' any longer. Everyone now can hardly escape realising that they are engaged in a collective act, that all are sharing, each in his own degree, in the worship of a community? And after they have done these things together, they can hardly avoid greeting each other and wanting to get to know each other better, and to take common action together where the welfare of their neighbourhood demands it!"

Starry-eyed

In theory our shared beliefs and worship should produce

these effects. In practice it is asking too much. It is true that those one finds round God's altar form a community. They are the eucharistic community. But it is an invisible community. Once the eucharistic celebration is over the forces and pressures of the modern city draw them apart, each into his isolation. Each lives his own life, goes his own way, until all meet the following Sunday. Yet the Vatican Council lays down that "efforts must be made to encourage a sense of community within the parish". This can only mean, in practice, encouraging small groups in the parish. They could be based on a locality — couple of streets, block of flats — or on background or of common interest. It might often be possible for them to meet in each others' houses at regular intervals for discussion of the Gospels: the Gospels as living documents in which Christ speaks to us. His attitudes may readily be seen, for after all the people and situations he met are not radically different from those we meet today. Gradually the historical Christ emerges from his setting and he becomes, now at his Father's side, the centre of the group's interest. Once Christ has been seen by a man he grows out-going towards his neighbour. Personal and family problems in his street, sickness, old age, come to be felt as responsibilities of the group. Problems of the neighbourhood, its relations with public authorities, bad housing, badly repaired pavements, poor lighting, a whole host of problems that affect everyone living around, can be tackled, for often it requires only an initiative to draw in plenty of interest and ability; but the Christian must animate the effort. These small local communities must have love for each other, sometimes meet together, and feel their responsibility towards the whole mass of Christians who may use the same building on Sundays yet may remain for ever strangers unless active nuclei are at work amongst them, seeking all the time to draw them into a group that really is a community, one centred on Christ.

CURRENT COMMENT

Father Crane examines what he calls a South-American type of society from the angle of the Church's involvement in the field of social reform. He finds her representatives in too many countries timid and afraid.

Reflections on a Revolution

THE EDITOR

SINCE last April I have been following events in the Dominican Republic with more than ordinary interest. The reason is that I was there in August, 1963 — on my way from lecturing in the United States to an assignment in British Guiana. My stay in the small Republic was brief, but fruitful. Four things were clear to me at the end of it. The first was that President Juan Bosch would be removed by a *coup d'etat* engineered by the army and the rich with the backing of certain churchmen. Secondly, there was no justification for such a coup: the alleged reason would be anti-Communism; its real purpose to halt reforming legislation that threatened the status of the officer class and the fortunes of the rich. Thirdly, the success of the coup, therefore, would place in power a government dedicated to the preservation of a social system based on grave social injustice. Fourthly, this government would not last indefinitely. It would itself fall victim to a counter-coup: the rising consciousness of the poor would explode against it in bloody revolution. A situation might well arise which Communists would be quick to turn to their advantage.

These were my thoughts when I left the island in late August, 1963. It could be a second Cuba, I said.

A Communist Possibility

My thoughts have proved correct. Bosch was put out from

the presidency on September 26th, 1963, some six weeks after I took tea with him in his palace. The coup which displaced him was the work primarily of Generals Imbert and Wessin y Wessin. It brought to power a junta, which was itself in thrall to the generals and the rich. Eighteen months later there came the counter-coup, which rapidly took on the nature, at least in the city of Santo Domingo, of something close to a popular uprising. Unhappily, the campaign engineered by vested interests against President Bosch before his deposition and the entrenchment of social injustice which followed it had brought the possibility that an opportunistic Communism might take advantage of popular discontent to convert an uprising against injustice into a Communist revolution. There was, moreover, the Cuban parallel. It needed only a little time for the bright dawn that followed Castro's victory over Batista's tyranny to darken into the night of Communist totalitarianism. Either way, the Dominican Republic could have gone down the Cuban road. It was not certain that it would do so. It remained a possibility. It was, I think, to prevent its realisation that President Johnson intervened.

Intervention and Aftermath

It seems to me pointless to ask whether he should have done so. The possibility of another Cuba gave him reason enough. A much more pertinent question is why, having intervened in the first place, American efforts should have been devoted to installing first General Wessin y Wessin and then General Imbert in a position of supreme authority over the Dominican people. Wessin y Wessin, in particular, was clearly associated with the Trujillo regime. He was the prime mover against Bosch in 1963. Each of these men, it can be said with truth, was identified with the kind of reactionary outlook, which believes absurdly that the only way to counter Communism is through the firm upholding of a *status quo* opposed to the most elementary dictates of social justice. Why, then, were the Americans, in the initial stages of their intervention, so anxious to advance the claims of these two? The answer can only be one of

two things. Either they thought Bosch himself a Communist or else they were convinced that the uprising in his favour would go the Communist way. Castro's shadow brooded over them as they surveyed the Dominican scene.

Bosch's record and bearing whilst in office gave the State Department little excuse for holding the former view. I do not believe that they did so. One can understand their being scared, however, that the uprising in his favour would take a Communist turn. According to Max Clos, the distinguished correspondent of the *Figaro*, this appears to have been their view. In an on-the-spot report from the Dominican Republic, he wrote in the *Guardian* for June 6th:

A Frenchman's View

"Mr. Bundy defined the situation exactly when he said: 'We consider that when the disturbances broke out at the start of the revolution all constituted authority had disappeared, and there was a serious danger of seeing the Communists take over. We think that today this danger has disappeared'.

"In this the Americans are certainly right. It is clear that at the beginning of the revolution it was the extreme Left-wing parties who sent the crowd into the street, organised it, and laid down its objectives. They did not launch the revolutionary movement themselves, but were preparing to take their chances with it. The revolution was to cover the whole country. The extreme Left was opposed by two forces, men like Caamano and Montes Arache, who were obviously not Communists and, above all, by the landing of the US marines.

"The extreme Left knew that it was not well enough organised to confront the Americans face to face. A general rising would risk the destruction of the painfully constructed infra-structure, and the extermination of the 'militants'. Wisely the leaders, better called 'Castroists' than 'Communists', limited themselves to giving some support to Caamano in the capital, and at that time ordering their units in the provinces to remain quiet".

The American Failing

I would accept this opinion of the situation in the Dominican Republic at the time of the uprising last April. For me, it justifies the American intervention. What I find difficult to excuse is the American reaction to this potentially dangerous situation after the intervention had taken place. It appears to have been based on the assumption that the only way to contain Castroism in Latin America is to block revolutionary reform with black reaction. All this does, however, is to postpone the inevitable day and ensure that the revolution, when it does come, will be Communist to the core. I am not falling for the simplist attitude of those who assume that the *only* answer to Communism under *all* circumstances is positive social reform. This is not true. There are times when much more drastic, short-term, supplementary measures have to be made use of. My point here is that, in the context of the situation prevailing in the Dominican Republic at the time of the American intervention, it was madness for the Americans to assume that any figure—least of all a general—connected with the oppression of former years was capable of containing the Communist threat. He would have been a certain failure precisely because, under his government, the necessary reforms in favour of social justice would never have taken place. The net result of his regime would have been not merely a return to square one; but an opening of the way to a Communist take-over as soon as American backs were turned. At base, the only answer to Communist revolution is Christian radicalism. Had they proved successful, initial American attempts at king-making in the Dominican Republic would have removed the possibility of such an answer being given. Their mistake lay here; not in their intervention, but in their failure to work at once for an arrangement that would contain Communism, whilst allowing, at the same time, for the introduction of vigorous measures of social reform. The Cuban experience, I am afraid, has clouded the American vision. Castro's conversion to Communism appears to have made every social reformer in Latin America suspect in American eyes.

Bosch the Prophet

No-one has realised this more clearly than Juan Bosch. After Castro's public declaration on December 2nd, 1961 that he had become a Marxist-Leninist, Bosch wrote:

"With this declaration Fidel Castro, who had been the leader of a fervently popular democratic revolution, engraved in red one single word, 'Communist', on every attempt to make a democratic revolution for a long time to come. It is hazardous to say whether he did so consciously or unconsciously, but there can be no doubt that by doing so he rendered an incalculable service to the cause of world Communism, since after his declaration it became virtually and even totally impossible to make a democratic revolution in this part of the world, and without a democratic revolution in Latin America there is no way out. The Latin American revolution which is inevitable even if it takes 15, 20 or 25 years, should not be Communist, but the fear of the democratic revolution will make it sooner or later fall into the pattern of a Communist revolution".

Bosch went on to add with perceptive bitterness:

"Anyone who does not demonstrate in a satisfactory manner that he respects and will continue to respect the established order in Latin America, that he will not touch a single hair on the head of the vested interests, and that, on the contrary, he will dedicate himself to defend them with body and soul, night and day, is transmuted into and suspected of being a secret Communist. A chorus of voices all over the Continent accuses him of being an agent of Moscow and of Fidel Castro. The pressure raised everywhere in response to this accusation is of such a defamatory nature that few can suffer it calmly. But there is an answer to this accusation: When the youth of Latin America becomes indignant at the injustice committed against honest democratic leaders, they react by shifting towards Communism. If the accusation comes from the most hated circles in the Hemisphere, the youth respond to it by taking a position against the accusers at precisely the opposite extreme. And so, day after day, the most audacious

young people in Latin America, led by those from the upper and middle strata of the middle class, have been swelling the Communist ranks in all our countries".

The Church Holds the Key

In these words Juan Bosch described his own present fate. It is the not uncommon one of a radical reformer caught between emotional extremes, forced to witness his hopes caught and crushed in the clash of irrational opposites. Is there any way out? In Latin America and in many other of the world's developing areas, the Church holds the key to the answer. I was asked when in San Domingo two years ago what I thought the Church should do in view of Bosch's suspected softness with regard to Communism. My answer was that the Church should associate itself vigorously and at once with his government's plans for rural reform. "If he is a Communist", I said, "he will check the Church's reforming effort as it gathers momentum. If he is not, he will welcome her support as she strives with him to bring new life and hope to the half-starved people of a crumbling countryside. The Church has nothing to lose and everything to gain from such a proceeding. From it, she will draw the invigoration which comes from doing her duty in defence of human dignity. At this juncture vigorous positive action on behalf of the poor is called for. It is still not too late. Let the Church get to it then at once". This was my opinion at the time. It is still my opinion today.

Why the Church Fails

The Church failed in the Dominican Republic as it had failed before in Cuba. Despite the perceptive prodding of an extremely able Nuncio, it gave no substantial support to legitimate measures of social reform. It drew back from Bosch, whilst he was President of the Dominican Republic, in the same way that it drew back from Castro in Cuba on the morrow of his successful revolution. In each case, its motives were the same: fear of involvement combined with an overweening concern for her own security, and so the

Church was robbed of any real capacity for effective action. Leslie Dewart has put it as well as anyone I know: "The greatest trial of the Cuban Church as the first of the twentieth century was drawing to a close was caused not so much by its truly pitiful condition, or by the dimness of its prospects, or by the mountainous height of its immemorial problems, but by its pedestrian and natural desire above all to survive the perils of the times. It is difficult to take risks, as sometimes one must, or to take them wisely, when concern for security is dominant" (1). This sums up the trouble exactly.

Story from Kerala

The failing is widespread. Some years ago, a young Indian priest walked in to see me at Claver House. I still have on my table a charmingly carved little Madonna, which he left as a keepsake. The priest was young and very tired. The dust of his native Kerala seemed to seep out of him as he talked—with passion and dedication of the relationship between rural injustice and Communism. It was just after the first take-over of Kerala by the Communist Party. He saw quite clearly why it had occurred. It was the fruit, he knew, of a Christian community—the oldest in India—concerned with nothing so much as the conservation of an unjust status quo. Until the poor were fed, so long as they were denied a human inheritance through the evil practices of pious Christian landlords, Father Vadakkan knew, though he preached it, that anti-Communism was no more than an ugly farce. He was right; but he was one amongst many. I wondered how long he would last—not physically, though he was very tired, but mentally. For one can endure only so much frustration. Then the spirit cracks. The words come out that should never be spoken; enwrapping the death-wish of those half dead with disappointment. The last cry of men at the end of their tether. They can take no more.

Last July, the Catholic Press carried the news that Father Vadakkan had been banned by his Bishop from all public

Cf. Cuba, Church and Crisis: Sheed & Ward, 15s.

activities. It made me want to weep. His troubles began after the Indian President's dismissal of Kerala's Communist Government in 1959. It's successor knew next to nothing of social justice, neither did its Christian supporters. They remained circumscribed within their unjust ways: Kerala's recent Communist past held no lessons for them. I can see it all, as I saw it in 1963 in the Dominican Republic; as, I believe, Juan Bosch saw it when he remarked with bitterness that he was aware of only one priest on the island opposed to the conspiracies directed against him. Father Vadakkan was criticised for being friendly with Communist groups, though this does not mean that he approved of Communist doctrine. All it indicates is an attempt to engage in legitimate dialogue of a sort recently encouraged in the highest quarters in the Church. Be that as it may. The Father was banned from working in non-religious fields. He continued to write, probably with increasing frustration, in his daily paper *Thozhilali, The Worker*. It is said that there were often political overtones to his writing. Then, he went on a ten-month visit to Canada and the United States. On his return, I imagine he blew up. He told a meeting he would work alongside Communists in the interests of social justice. He suggested in his daily paper that Indian Church Authorities tolerated what he described as the domination of Indian Catholicism by "white priests" because of the lure of "American and German money". This was the end. Doubtless, he should never have said what he did. In the light of what I am sure he went through, I can understand him saying it. You can drive a man almost out of his senses with despair. When he gets that way and, maybe, says silly things, whom does one blame for his outbursts? I have no doubt in my mind on whom the blame should be made to lie.

Story from Colombia

Recently, in Colombia, two young priests asked recklessly, as it appears, to be relieved of their clerical obligations in order that they might work towards bringing about a "social and economic revolution that would end wide-

spread misery in the country". Their request was turned down with the remark that the Catholic Church "could only involve itself in revolution if there existed absolute tyranny — and this certainly does not apply to Colombia". As they stand, these words are certainly true, but what kind of revolution did these young priests have in mind? "I wish to become a revolutionary", said one, "but not the kind that my Cardinal thinks. Any analysis of Colombian society points to the need of revolution to provide food for the hungry, drink for the thirsty, clothes for the naked and help to realise the natural aspirations of most of our people". I would say this analysis is perfectly true not only of Colombian society, but of that of virtually any country in the whole of South America. To remedy such a state of affairs, there is, of course, no need for any priest to seek relief from his clerical obligations; neither is it wise to use ambiguous phrases about revolution when calling for the eradication of social injustice. We can grant all that, but only if we remember, at the same time, that frustration can drive good men to excesses. It is the Christian duty of any priest to work fearlessly for the removal of every form of social injustice. In so doing, he is being no more than faithful to the continued injunctions of a long line of modern popes. Superiors who penalise the faithfulness of their clergy in this respect and drive them to near-despair have, in the last analysis, only themselves to blame if some of their priests are brought to the point where they shed their priesthood because they can stand no more.

I write with a sense of urgency because Latin America has little time left. The same applies very strongly to similarly placed societies like those of Kerala, for example, and the Philippines. The revolution of rising expectations has laid hold of the Latin American peasant. He is thirsty for justice, which means that he is thirsty for land; for the possession of property, which will bring decency to his existence on earth and dignity to his human nature.

MONTHLY REPORT

Overseas students constitute, at one and the same time, a problem, and an opportunity. In this first article an approach is made to part of the problem by an American Mill Hill Missionary in London who is in the process of completing his theological studies.

Students Abroad

1: BRIEF IMPRESSION

ROBERT O'NEILL, M.H.M.

AS we waited for the underground at Holborn last week, we gave our thoughts over to the topic of this article. "Just what would be an effective introduction", we asked ourselves. The answer wasn't long in coming, as our eyes moved through the loose crowd of people waiting for the Central Line.

All Sorts

London is one of the most cosmopolitan cities in the world. Along this underground platform were men and women from a number of foreign countries, my own America included, scattered amongst the native Britishers. A neatly dressed Chinese, probably in his early twenties, stood to our left. On our immediate right two men spoke quickly, with an accent that finds its birth place somewhere across the Channel. An Indian, his black hair bound up in a rose-coloured turban, passed by. Two Africans — Nigerians, I would imagine — leant against the wall further down. You've seen the same for yourselves if you've travelled around this city. If, till now, you've taken no notice, why not do so the next time you're out?

As soon as one becomes aware of the presence of all these people, the question naturally comes into one's mind,

"What are they all doing here"? Many, of course, live and work in England. There are many others, however, who have not come to stay. They are only visitors. Yet, they have a special purpose—education. Every year literally thousands from abroad enrol in British colleges and universities, studying subjects as far apart as their countries of origin. "Hotel management", said a student from Turkey. "Law", volunteered a Dyak from Borneo. "Medicine", from a young Chinese. "I'm taking economics", said a boy from Ceylon. London University has by far the lion's share of such students. Two years ago there were 34,000 of them at this great institution of learning. According to a reliable source, the figure now is somewhere round 40,000. In all Great Britain, according to the Report of the British Council for 1963, there were approximately 64,000 overseas students. The United States has a population almost four times that of Great Britain, yet the total for the entire nation was only 45,000, with 7,000 of them in the city of New York. We know that there are historical reasons why Britain plays host to so many of these young men. The comparison with the United States is striking, nevertheless. Meanwhile, the number of those coming to Britain continues to increase.

The Church and the Students

There was once in the United Kingdom an overseas student, who returned to his own country, so we are told, having learnt to "love Christ and hate Christians". His name was Gandhi. What, one might ask, are we doing, to prevent others from returning to their homelands with a similar bad taste in their mouths. More specifically, what organised role is the Church playing in this apostolate? "Monsignor Coonan has done a fine job during his ten years as head of the chaplaincy to overseas students", said Father Norris, his successor. Father Norris leaned back in his easy chair at the Catholic Students' International Chaplaincy, Holland Park, and proceeded to outline the work of the office to which he has recently been assigned. "Keep in mind", he suggested, that there are many other govern-

ment and church organisations working among the overseas students. Although their number is approximately 64,000, with most of them here in the London area, the Catholic student population is between 4,000 and 5,000 in this city. We concentrate on them".

Father Norris has two assistant priests. One of them, Father Andrew Desmond, has charge of a hostel and centre in North London near Finsbury Park. Besides caring for the needs of students at this hostel—it will have 200 residents once a renovation project has been completed—Father Desmond is in general charge of overseas students living in North London. Father Norris' other assistant, Father D'Arcy of the White Fathers, rides the circuit, travelling round the country and visiting groups of Catholics overseas students wherever they may be. "Talks, socials, dances, films, etc.", states the notice for one of the three centres in London for overseas students, which is run off from the chaplaincy. "Central and Southern African Students Society" is the official title of one of the nine national groupings in existence under its auspices. The Chaplaincy for Overseas Students co-operates closely with the University of London Catholic Chaplaincy in Soho. Between them, the Fathers cater for all the Catholic students, from wherever they come, in some forty-two educational institutions in the London area. An impressionist outline of this sort does scant justice to the generous efforts of priests and people involved in the apostolate for overseas students. It has succeeded in its purpose if it has conveyed some idea, at least, of the work involved and undertaken to meet a pressing need. It was pointed out to us recently that one thing will certainly come out of Vatican Council II and that is a more mission-minded Church. We will grow more conscious of the fact that our first responsibility is not necessarily to our parish or diocese at home, but to the whole Church. Looking at the great numbers of overseas students flocking into Britain, we may easily conclude, "Why, in a way, the missions have come to us". They have.

INDUSTRIAL ANGLE

During the post-war period we have staggered from one economic crisis to another. The Labour Party has now been forced to use the traditional stop-go policies it condemned, and has had to postpone for the time some of its election pledges. The Tories have shown no signs of establishing a norm for profits. On both sides a lot of thinking remains to be done.

Stop: and more Stop

J. M. JACKSON

ONE of the planks in the Labour Party's electoral programme was the ending of stop-go. Throughout the post-war period, we have had a series of balance of payments crises. When the country has been enjoying a high measure of prosperity, money incomes have risen too rapidly. Not only have the prices of our goods tended to rise with the danger that they might become uncompetitive in export markets, but it has also become more profitable for manufacturers to sell in the flourishing home market and so for this reason too exports lag. The strong home demand for goods also results in a rise in imports, and so from both sides the balance of payments deteriorates.

The usual Pattern

It is at this point that the government finds it necessary to step in with restrictionist measures. The usual pattern is that the Bank Rate goes up, other interest rates are increased and bank lending is restricted; restrictions are placed on hire purchase; and taxes are increased. As a result of the higher interest rates and tight credit, invest-

ment in the private sector tends to fall; investment in the public sector may be cut by direct government decisions. Employment in industries making capital goods falls. With increased taxes and reduced hire purchase facilities, consumer spending falls too, and so employment falls in the industries making consumer goods. The people thrown out of work initially have less money to spend, and so there is a further cut in spending on consumer goods and employment falls still further. It is this fall in employment and incomes that reduces the demand for all kinds of goods, including imports, and so brings about an improvement in the balance of payments. With the easing of the pressure of demand in home markets, there will be some tendency for manufacturers to look to the export market as an alternative. The balance of payments is thus improving, possibly from both sides, though it is quite possible that the improvement in exports will be less important than the cut in imports. After a sufficient lapse of time, the government feels it safe to relax the restrictions imposed on the economy, incomes and employment again rise, and the country enjoys a period of increasing prosperity. But again, before very long, the rise in money incomes gets out of hand, and the brakes have to be applied again.

Levels of Unemployment

There are clearly objections to this kind of thing. Even at the stage when the brakes are taken off again, the level of unemployment is unlikely to be above 3 per cent., a remarkably low figure by comparison with anything experienced before the war. Nevertheless, if we could keep the level of unemployment somewhere around 1-1½ per cent. *all the time* it would obviously be preferable to the periodic application of the brakes. Stop-go policies mean that from time to time the economy is operating below its maximum capacity, and when so many human needs go unsatisfied, that is wasteful; and it is no real answer to say that there were much greater wastes before the war. Moreover, the cutting back of investment has invariably been a major part in the restrictionist policies adopted to meet a

crisis. While cutting investment may have a desirable effect in improving the balance of payments in the short-run, the long-run effect is to increase the country's economic difficulties. The real answer to our problem is to make our industries more efficient, and this means investment in more and better equipment. An improvement in industrial relations, the abandonment of restrictive practices, and so on could produce a once for all effect—and perhaps a big one—but it is upon continued investment that continuing improvements in productivity depend.

Need for the Surcharge

This, then, is the reason why the Labour Party wanted to end stop-go. The import surcharge was an attempt to tackle directly the level of imports instead of indirect measures that had been relied upon in the past. Unfortunately, this measure was a flagrant violation of several solemn treaty obligations, and it is folly for a country so dependent upon international trade as ourselves to behave as though commercial treaties were mere scraps of paper to be torn up whenever it suited our convenience. But the traditional deflationary measures came too. Mr. Callaghan's autumn budget increased pensions, but there were also increases in taxation that exceeded the additional expenditure on pensions. The measures taken at this stage did not create confidence abroad, and it therefore became necessary to resort to a higher Bank Rate when the balance of payments crises was intensified by a speculative run on sterling.

Further deflation in the April budget was inevitable. If the surcharge (and the tax rebates on exports announced at the same time) had succeeded in improving the balance of payments situation significantly, this in itself would have created inflationary pressures that would have had to be contained. As import prices rose with the surcharge, fewer goods would be imported. This would mean demand would switch to home produced goods. Similarly, if exports had risen, there would again have been increased pressure on home industries. Given that initially the economy was fully

stretched, it would have been quite impossible to meet these additional demands placed on it. Instead of increased output of home produced goods, the additional demand would merely have caused prices to rise still more rapidly.

Corporation and Capital Gains Tax

So in April it was *More Stop*. More tax increases were announced in the budget. The government had, however, been thinking along other lines also. It was still hoping that the incomes policy for which Mr. George Brown was working would prove a valuable weapon for economic control, and would do much to eliminate the need for stop-go. The Corporation Tax and the Capital Gains Tax were introduced, the government arguing that these taxes would help to create the right atmosphere for an incomes policy. The Corporation Tax is not a doctrinaire socialist measure, nor is the Capital Gains Tax, for both are employed in the United States. On the other hand, there are serious objections to both, as they have been framed in this country. The Corporation Tax encourages the retention of profits, it therefore strengthens existing firms and may create monopolistic tendencies, and penalises firms making only a modest total profit, as a result of low prices, all of which must in equity be passed on in dividends to shareholders. £100 of profit earned by a company and distributed may now bear Corporation and Income Tax amounting to £65, whereas £100 of earned income pays only £32. Little wonder people talk of the incentive to save and invest being destroyed. In principle, the taxation of capital gains is reasonable, but without correcting money gains for changes in the value of money the tax is a downright swindle and nothing else. It is neither a tax on realised gains which can be spent, nor on wealth as such, but an iniquitous charge (in many cases) on a person who may have to realise an asset or alter the distribution of his assets between different kinds.

Fears of Devaluation

Despite the deflationary April budget, the balance of payments has not improved as much as one would have liked.

Above all, the value of exports has only risen very slowly. Sterling remains weak, and fears of devaluation remain. No matter how much a government may protest that it is not going to devalue its currency, its word will not be accepted so long as a persistent balance of payments difficulty exists. If fears of a possible devaluation lead people to change sterling for other currencies, how much more would the certain knowledge that devaluation was about to take place? If I were to sell sterling now I would get \$2.80 for each pound. If subsequently the pound were devalued to $\text{£}1 = \$2.00$, I would make a handsome profit. With the \$2.80 I got for each pound I sold before devaluation, I would be able to buy back 28s., a profit of 40 per cent. (In the case of British nationals, searching for speculative profits of this kind may appear very unpatriotic. If the reader cares to work out a comparable case of a foreigner who has lent money to somebody in this country or is holding here money he may have earned in some way, to sell sterling would appear not to be seeking profit but attempting to avoid a loss.) If, of course, devaluation does not occur, I may lose by speculating in this way. In the above example, I took the present exchange rate as being $\text{£}1 = \$2.80$. In fact the rate may vary between \$2.78 and \$2.82. With sterling weak, I may sell at $\text{£}1 = \$2.78$, and, in the event of devaluation my profit would be only slightly less than in the first example. Suppose, however, the pound strengthens, there is no devaluation and, in fact, the exchange rate returns to \$2.80. For each pound, I obtained \$2.78 but now I need \$2.80 to get a pound back. For each pound I had to start, I will now have roughly 19s. 10d. This may seem a trifling loss, but not when large sums are involved. People who are not at all sure devaluation is going to take place may not be prepared to risk this fairly small loss for the possibility of a much bigger gain. *But if everybody knew for certain that devaluation was about to be announced, they could seek the substantial gain with absolute certainty.*

Still more Stop

So in July it was a case of *Still More Stop*. The measures announced by Mr. Callaghan included steps to limit certain types of capital expenditure in both public and private sectors, tighter hire purchase restrictions, and tighter exchange controls. The restrictions on hire purchase involve increasing the initial deposit from 25 per cent. to 30 per cent. and shortening the maximum repayment period from 3 years to 30 months. This is bound to cut the demand for cars, household durables and other goods normally bought on H.P., at least temporarily. The curtailment of capital projects affects chiefly building, with good reason, for the building industry appears to have been overstrained in recent months and serious difficulties have been foreseen. On the other hand, housing, school and hospital building have been rightly excluded from the cuts, though the rate is to be frozen for some time ahead. The exchange controls announced will make it more difficult to get funds for investment abroad. This is desirable, for part of last year's very large deficit was, in fact, due to the rate of overseas investment. When we invest abroad, interest and dividends later flow back to this country, but the act of investment itself means an outflow of funds from this country, adding to our immediate balance of payments difficulties.

In addition to these cuts and restrictions, the government has also announced that it must postpone honouring three of its election promises: lower interest rates for owner-occupiers, an incomes guarantee, and the abolition of the remaining National Health Service charges.

No Opportunity to seek Alternatives

What of the future? Is there any alternative to Stop-Go? So far, the Labour Party has had no opportunity to try the possible alternatives. Rather foolishly, they suggested in their election campaign that they would try to find an alternative. Perhaps they are not to be blamed for failing to produce an alternative *at this stage*. Given a balance of payments crisis, particularly a serious one, there probably was no alternative. The real test will come later, if there

is not an early election and a Conservative victory. To eliminate the wasteful stop-go policies, it is necessary to avoid the crises that have necessitated the application of the brakes. We must make sure that the boom does not get out of hand, that rising incomes and employment do not create undue pressure on the balance of payments. Deflation is the only *cure* for a balance of payments crisis, if devaluation is ruled out: the only alternative is *prevention* of a recurrence, once the cure has been affected.

Incomes Policy

There is no doubt that the Government has placed a great deal of faith in the idea of an incomes policy as one of the principal means of ensuring a steadier and faster rate of economic growth. If the rate of increase in money incomes can be kept in step with the rate of increase in productivity, we would indeed have gone a long way to avoiding the balance of payments crisis that have recurred at all too frequent intervals since the war. If money incomes did no more than keep step with increasing output, they would not tend to force up prices, divert output from the export market to the home market, and create an increased demand for imports. To date, however, the prospects of an incomes policy proving effective within a reasonably short period do not appear good. In a good many industries, wage increases have been given which exceed the target of $3\text{-}3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. There are bound to be some exceptions, but already there appear to be far too many. Moreover, the exceptionally well-paid printing workers appear to regard the reference of their case to the new review body as unreasonable, since they are only getting the target figure of $3\text{-}3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. But no policy to keep the average increase in incomes to a particular figure can work and still permit the relatively underpaid workers to get more and to catch up if the exceptionally well-paid still expect to get the average increase. It is a matter of simple arithmetic that if some are to get more than the average, others must be prepared to take less.

Staggering from Crisis to Crisis

In some quarters, it is taken for granted that we must expect slow progress towards an incomes policy. They believe that the natural suspicions of trade unions cannot be removed overnight. On the other hand, we should realise that an incomes policy is not something that is vaguely desirable — something it would be very nice to have if possible, but nevertheless something we have managed without so far, and can presumably continue to do without. Of course we can manage without an incomes policy, but without one we are bound to stagger from one crisis to another. And with each crisis we shall suffer the consequences of a fresh measure of deflation to bring our international accounts back into balance. The trade unions have been among the loudest critics of the stop-go policy, but until they have the sense to face the facts and to accept the alternative of an incomes policy, they have no right to complain. In many cases, their own irresponsible claims have contributed to the crisis and to the hardships that inevitably follow.

There must, of course, be a policy for profits and prices as well as wages. If the Labour Party has failed to recognise the importance of permitting adequate rewards on the necessary function of supplying capital to industry, the Conservative Party has shown no awareness of the need to establish some kind of norm for profits; nor has it admitted the inequity of a temporary dividend freeze which leaves shareholders free to enjoy the benefits at a later date, either in delayed dividends or as capital gains on the value of the shares they hold. On both sides, therefore, a lot of thinking remains to be done: so far, neither side seems to have started.

Why do so many Catholics become Communists? What should Christians do in a politically developing country Doesn't reading the Bible invite to private interpretations? Should there be a retiring age for bishops?

Any Questions?

WILLIAM LAWSON, S.J.

Why do so many Catholics become Communists?

DO they? We should have to define "Catholic" before counting heads. Communists in Spain and Italy were probably baptised into the Church and may have been brought up as Catholics, but we may doubt that they were ever committed by their personal decision to the service of Christ. Some Communists in this country have Irish names, but their parents or grandparents may have lapsed and deprived them of Catholic upbringing.

It is said that many Communists once practised their religion with enthusiasm, and that, when they lost their religion but kept their enthusiasm, Communism gave them the sort of ideal and cause to which they could dedicate their fire and zest. I find that hard to accept. There are dedicated Communists from whose wholeheartedness Christians could learn the meaning of service and sacrifice; and some of them may have had religious beginnings, and have become disgusted with formalism in religion and the absence of effective care for the poor and the weak. But if their religion was genuine, or if they knew what Communism is, I don't see how they could reckon to find in it what they missed in Christianity.

Instead of the eternal God, personal, loving, and welcoming, they adopt matter as their god, deaf, dumb, blind, evolving inevitably from eternity, producing human beings, subjecting them to its mindless and inexorable forces, and swallowing them to feed them into the evolutionary pro-

cess. Instead of children of God, persons, immortal, free, capable of love, they take on as the companions of their brief duration lumps of tool-using matter whose sole purpose is to further the evolution of the matter of which they are a negligible gobbet. And for the future? No personal fulfilment, no happiness, not even pie in the sky. For matter, the final evolution into the classless society: but for themselves—nothing.

What should be the position of Christians in a politically developing country?

IN any country Christians should be among the most responsible citizens. Their membership of a society gives them a complex of rights and duties; and in civil society their main duty is to take a part, varying according to each one's circumstances, in government. The least a Christian can do is vote intelligently. On questions of policy for general well-being he should have an informed opinion, and he should contribute to the making of a sound public opinion. He ought to sharpen his critical faculty and be able to think beyond the slogans and catch-words that bewitch so many and are a substitute for thought. Words and phrases like democracy, the people, freedom, equality, the State, race and nationality are used with different meanings, and they are often not understood. A start could be made at understanding the word "politics". There is an excusable prejudice against politicians. Politics, it is said cynically, is a dirty business. But politics should be the business of all citizens, and, if it were, it would no longer be dirty.

New countries have the special handicaps of inexperience in the whole population, and perhaps of frenzied enthusiasms easily captured by an ambitious few. They have suffered a revolution; and revolutions are so often the prelude to tyranny. The Christian citizen must be ready to bring measure into excesses—of hatred, or the will-to-power, or suspicion. The more he can participate in public life the better. He must, however, be equipped for the task. He should know the guiding principles of

politics—what the State is, its purpose, the limits of its authority, the duties that fall to it in a particular society, the advisability of a division of power between legislative, executive and judicial bodies, and the necessity of the rule of law. Effective participation needs a long training!

Does not reading the Bible invite to private interpretation?

YES. Of course it does. When you read, it should be with a critical mind. Everybody knows now that students of the Scriptures no longer take as true the literal meaning of all passages in the text, as the Fundamentalists still do. Reading about Jonah and the Whale, the serpent in the garden, the walls of Jericho, and the miracles of Elias and Eliseus, you would at least wonder what the experts have to say about these stories.

Doubts of the meaning of New Testament passages are much more serious. Did Christ cast out devils or just cure neuroses? Was Peter appointed Christ's vicar? At the Last Supper did Christ turn bread and wine really into his Body and Blood? Is the Resurrection true? You know that some interpreters get rid of devils, the Real Presence, the primacy of Peter, and the Resurrection. They have their reasons, and you could give them some weight. But you should first of all make up your mind about interpretation. Is it a matter of scholarship? But unless you are a scholar yourself you can't even decide whose scholarship is to prevail. The simplest approach to the question is another one: where do we get the Bible? The answer is that we get it from the Church, which existed before the New Testament scriptures were written, and which decided what old and new writings were to be counted as sacred. It is she who knows what the Gospels and Epistles meant to convey, she who handed them on, together with the tradition of the oral teaching of the Apostles. If the Church does not know what the Gospels mean there will never be any certain knowledge of the meaning of history's most important book.

Read your Bible, and go to the Church for its interpretation.

Would it be a good idea to have a retiring age for bishops ?

THAT is a question for the bishops themselves: but fortunately the suggestion of a retiring age for bishops has been made by some of them, so the subject can be mentioned without impropriety and can then be politely dropped.

Statutory ages for retirement have much to be said for them, and much against. For workers to know when they can apply for an adequate pension is a blessing: to lose a good worker who wants to go on working is wasteful. An age limit for employment can be fixed only statistically by assessing failure of ability in large numbers and taking an average. People, however, are individuals each with his own stamina and endurance. Some have to hang on grimly for their last few years before retirement in order to qualify for full pension; and others have to quit their jobs though they are as lively and competent as ever. Besides, there is a wide range of differences in professions, which have to be taken into account in working out the optimum age for retirement, and even deciding if the retirement age should be fixed at all. Judges, policemen, doctors, teachers, professional footballers, bus drivers, bishops—they qualify all together for old age pensions, but operationally they are at different ages by reason of the work they have done, and also because of individual constitution.

A retiring age may bring hardship by banishing the still-youthful: but lack of one is frustrating for the up-and-coming for whom there is no room at the top. Their state is especially pitiable when promotion goes by seniority, and their seniors are all aiming at being centenarians. The ideal would be to let the top brass retire, or resign, when they are beginning to fail those who depend on their good work—provided what fails first is not the ability to see failings.

Why did God command Noah to take only one pair of each species into the Ark with him, and leave the rest to die as though they had offended him?

YOU know the saying, from Scripture, that the sins of the fathers are visited on their children? Experience shows how sad and how true that is. God made man free and will not deprive him of his freedom but will only enable him to use it well. When man misuses his liberty, the consequences of his wickedness run on through the generations.

It is not only man's children who feel the effects of his action; it is the whole of the universe. The lesser creation is in the service of man. It can do neither good nor evil, having no freedom. It is at man's disposal and suffers from man's disobedience to God, just as it benefits from his obedience. If the whole human race were to perish, the animal kingdom would lose its master and would be aimless. That truth is stated symbolically in the story of Noah and the ark. The family preserved by divine decree from destruction in the flood had need of animals. Enough of them had to be saved to ensure the continuation of animal life side by side with the human race. Enough, but no more than enough: the animals did not exist in their own right, and those not needed for human survival were reasonably left to their fate.

Cruelty to animals is deplorable. They should be treated according to their nature—their nature should indeed, be respected, as should any work of God. To save them from flood and famine is laudable, apart from the material benefit to mankind. But man demeans himself if he attributes to animals rights and qualities which belong only to persons. By all means call the Fire Brigade to bring down from a tree a cat which has lost its nerve, but don't risk a human life to save any animal.

Liking Incense

"... if we are always attended by thurifers, can we avoid a liking for incense?" From *Power and Poverty in the Church*, p. 112—Yves Congar, O.P.

Learning from the Communists

8: MARXISM AND THE MISSIONS

DOUGLAS HYDE

THE development of Marxist doctrine and change of emphasis of some of the Marxist teachings has made Communism of particular importance, and a particular threat, to mission countries. It has brought them right into the front line.

The teachings of Lenin and Mao Tse-tung have a particular relevance to the mission countries. Both teach that it is the weak links in the capitalist chain which break first. They see these in present conditions as being Asia, Africa and Latin America — in other words the territories in which our missionaries work.

So I would like to discuss with you in this lecture the Communism which is presented to these areas. Mao Tse-tung's contribution to the Communism which goes to Asia, Africa and Latin America is the dominant one. There is more of his thought than Russian thought in the propaganda which goes there. It is he more than anyone else who worked out the strategy for the developing areas.

Marxism Adapted

Mao Tse-tung defined the old China as a semi-feudal, semi-colonial country. He adapted Marxism to those conditions. Communists now believe that any country which can be so described is one which could and should follow the

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course of China. From this they go on to reason that all the newly-developing countries fall into this category. In the past it was assumed that Communism was primarily a thing of the cities. It was there that it began and it was there that it had its base. It was very much a thing of the proletariat. Because of this, the moment of opportunity for the Communists was not likely to arise until there was a fair degree of industrialism and an established industrial working class.

Today the Communists believe that in semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries the fight for Communism can begin without waiting until they are launched into full industrialisation. This means, incidentally, if you as a missionary are working in a country which is still backward, one in which little industrialisation has occurred and is still mainly a producer of raw materials, you might in the past have been entitled to think that Communism was somebody else's problem. You cannot think that now. Again, if you are working in a rural area, you might have felt that this was a problem for your colleagues working in the cities and not for you. Communism is just as likely to get entrenched in a rural area today as in a city. This is happening in remote parts of Latin America, Asia and Africa just as in the highly-urbanised areas.

Since the Communist Party's aim is a communist society, it is natural that every Communist would like to believe that conditions in his own country are favourable to an early bid for communist power or, if they clearly are not, he will want to make them so. The new emphasis on these areas leads every Communist Party in Asia, Africa and Latin America to try to convince itself and the public that its country is semi-feudal, semi-colonial. These are in any case pretty broad terms—they can, for example, be made to include every country of Central and South America. It is fairly easy for the Communists to do a propaganda to the effect that they are semi-feudal. They can also set about trying to convince their public that they are semi-colonial as well by seeking to prove that they are the victims of a new form of colonialism.

Coca-Cola-nisation

In Latin America, for example, they can talk of Coca-Cola-nisation or dollar imperialism. A lot of their propaganda is devoted to the theme that these countries may have been free for a century and a half but are still in fact economically tied to the United States. In the case of Venezuela, they allege that the country is tied to Britain and Holland as well. This is what the communists' anti-Yankee, and anti-foreign capital, propaganda is all about. It goes pretty deep. It flows straight from the development of Marxist doctrine which we are discussing.

Let us take a quick look at the three developing continents and note how the Communist Party sees them.

Asia

In Asia you have mature, old-established Communist Parties, as old as any in Europe and, in some cases, every bit as experienced. Many of them tried, prematurely, to seize power in 1948. They were pushed into this by Stalin. As a consequence there were armed rebellions like the Huk rebellion in the Philippines, the jungle wars in Burma, Malaya and elsewhere in South East Asia. These were militarily defeated. They were politically defeated too. Today the communist organisation in these areas has been almost reduced to ruins, most of their leaders are in jail. Now they are having to build the Party from the ground up again. In the case of India and Japan, you have larger Communist Parties than in most of South East Asia. There I would say the Communists place their hopes in the main upon the economic crisis which they believe must come sooner or later, or alternatively upon a political crisis which could develop at any time—such as, for example, in the case of India, with the death of Mr. Nehru. In Indonesia, there is a huge mass Communist Party which is almost embarrassed by its size but which believes that sooner or later it should be able to produce and successfully exploit a revolutionary situation.

Continent of Promise

The Communists see Africa as a continent of promise.

This is not because the Party is powerful all over Africa — it is not. Nor are these huge mass followings for the Communists. In North and South Africa it is true they have been organised for years and have a following of some significance. But most of Africa's Communist Parties are only now just beginning to emerge. Isolated individuals are starting to coagulate, as it were, into communist cells and Party organisations. World communism's hopes for the African continent rest on the belief that it may be a turbulent one in the years ahead. The Communists hope that during this period of turbulence (which they do not and cannot for want of members themselves necessarily provoke but which may come quite naturally, nonetheless), they will be able to build up their Party by fishing in troubled waters, and then exploit the situation later.

Often, as those of you who work in Africa know, communist ideas spread without the Communists having an organised party in the area at all. You must not be surprised at this. It does not mean that the people who express communist ideas are necessarily Communists, though their wrong ideas clearly need to be corrected if possible. You cannot seal off any continent or country from the outside world, and communist ideas go into every part of Africa today by radio, through the press, by word of mouth.

I recently did a tour of Northern and Southern Rhodesia. I lectured on many occasions to purely African audiences. And throughout that part of Central Africa it had been universally accepted — even by some of our African priests, by seminarians, by boys in our own high schools and so on — that Russia is the big brother who helps poor struggling colonial people to achieve their freedom — and then gives them aid without strings. There was no communist organisation functioning there at that time. The first communist group has come into existence since then. There was no organised communist activity. Yet those ideas had come in and had been accepted without their being circulated by Communists. In some cases they were undoubtedly being spread by good but misguided Catholics.

That is a situation which we should recognise as being

potentially dangerous even though it does not call for panic. It is necessary for us to see that in such circumstances when the Communist Party does become organised and begins to act in an organised way, spreading its propaganda skilfully, a favourable situation has already been prepared for it.

Latin America

The Communists see Latin America as a continent of particular promise today. They believe that almost any country in that entire continent is now wide open to Communism. All, or almost all, the things they look for are already present without their having to create them. I shall return to this later.

This brings me to my next point. In the years since the Bolshevik Revolution the Communists in their writings and discussions have revised and lengthened their list of those conditions they consider to be conducive to the spread of Communism in the newly-developing areas. Where all are present in a particular country, their line is that the local Communist Party should already be planning for the seizure of power, thinking in terms of some day in the near future trying to start something which could end in the way that the years-long struggle in China ended.

I want to list these conditions which the Communists say are conducive to the spread of Communism in your mission territories and you can tick them off in your own mind, as it were, to see if they apply to you. I will try to give you some sort of Catholic commentary on them as I go along.

Foreign domination Resented

The first condition, right at the top of the list today, is *resentment of foreign domination*. This may exist, as you know, in a territory which is still under the direct colonial rule of, say, Britain, France or Portugal. But it can also exist in Latin American countries which have for generations been free, or in the newly-independent African and Asian countries. These latter, in particular, are sensitive to any sign of foreign interference. They are, incidentally, often particularly sensitive to

what appears to be interference from missionaries identified with a particular imperialistic power. These may be seen as agents for imperialism by peoples and governments. The communist propagandists can very easily brand them as such and so make them highly unpopular with the public.

I do not think that you should expect your own lay people will be exempt from this resentment where it is prevalent. Almost always, soon after independence, if it does not come before, there is a great upsurge of understandable but rather prickly national pride and an almost excessive pre-occupation with anything that tends to detract from the feeling of complete independence. The entire population is likely to be touched by this.

Such a mood developed, for example, some years after independence in India, Burma, and the Philippines. Because your own people express resentment at what they believe to be threats to their newly-won independence this does not necessarily mean that by any stretch of imagination that they must be Communists — although the Communists will certainly try to exploit their feelings if they can.

A missionary priest whom I met in Africa last year sent me some interesting and revealing comments which came from ex-seminarians he had interviewed. This was a priest who had kept close to the African people — very properly so I would say — and so had their confidence. The ex-seminarians opened up to him as they probably would not have done with anyone else. I wish I had time to give you all their comments because it seems to me that each is provocative and provides food for thought. But here are just one or two:

Deaf and Rude church Leaders

“The Church leaders do not listen to their African people. They come to preach, to hear confessions and they go home to their European houses, European friends, and they forget what the people have asked them or said to them. They forget the people because they do not live with the people”.

Another, with some sadness, which seemed natural, said:

"We have noticed two different types of preaching—one to the Africans which is rude and harsh and the other to the Europeans, which is polite. We have noticed the Europeans are treated nicely, spoken to nicely when they come to Fathers' houses and sit down. The Africans are often spoken to rudely with 'What do you want?' 'Wait there and I will see you'".

These, I repeat, were some of our own ex-seminarians talking. They were sensitive at the way their own people were treated. Perhaps this is one reason why they were "ex-".

Now, I have seen Africans treated like this and you have probably too. It might have been possible to do this in the past, although it was never right. You cannot get away with it today, now that Communists are using resentment of foreign domination and interference wherever they find them.

Desire for rapid Change

Secondly, the Communists say that where you have *the desire for rapid change*, you have a situation which is conducive to the spread of Communism. There is nothing intrinsically wrong in wanting rapid change. In most undeveloped countries, a standard of life which will guarantee a minimum of human dignity and decency can only be achieved by means of industrialisation through profound change.

These changes are going to occur and to continue. We cannot stop them even if we would. But the Communists know perfectly well that if you have people coming in from rural areas to the cities in large numbers, the result is a fundamental change in the pattern of life. You have the breakdown of old, tribal restraints, the old ways of thought, and so it is that much easier to spread new ways of thought, which is what the Communists want to do. Clearly this does create problems for us, but it seems to me that if it provides opportunities for the Communists it provides opportunities for us as well. The profound changes which are occurring in Asia, Africa and Latin America do,

undoubtedly, lead to a breakdown of the old sanctions and restraints, the old ways of thought. But they also open up minds to new ways. Those new ways might be ours. Too often the Communists welcome and exploit this situation while we simply bemoan the fact that "our people are much less simple, more sophisticated than they used to be in the good old days". There is the danger of modern paganisation which goes with this changing pattern, but there are opportunities too which we shall ignore at our peril.

A new restless uprooted Class

Thirdly, there should be *an emerging proletariat*. That is to say, a new industrial working class such as is already to be found in most parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America. There you have a proletariat as new as was the working class in the period of the Industrial Revolution in Britain and America. This new proletariat is restless, rootless. The Communists believe they can easily acquire the leadership of this important new class through the permeation and penetration of its organisations. So they infiltrate trade unions, political parties, cultural bodies in order to gain the leadership of the people. Again, I do not think there is any reason why they should have a monopoly of leadership. We ought to be producing people who can provide leadership too.

I remember when I was in Southern Rhodesia, I found a tremendous problem there; it is one with which many of you will have been made familiar in other parts of Africa. Hundreds of thousands of male Africans leave their traditional lands, their homes and families in the reserves to go and work in the city. They live in huge hostels in which are thousands of men, no women, who live together for months on end. All are allegedly unmarried, though many in fact have families back in the tribal reserves. With this huge concentration of men, the male population far outnumbering the female population throughout the cities as a whole, there is, as you will expect, every sort of vice, every form of human degradation. In the past, our

Catholics in the main looked at these huge hostels and were almost afraid to think of what was going on on the other side of the door. They were almost afraid to go in.

Just recently, I am happy to say, some African socialists, who are organised in Catholic Action Cells, started going into those hostels in order to discover what conditions were like, what were the needs of the men there, to try to understand their problems and offer them some sort of lead. You may be absolutely certain that if they had not done it, and if they do not do it effectively, the Communists — if they get established — certainly would. They would see these huge hostels full of men as a sort of an audience presented to them by the government, just waiting to be worked on and led for Communism. They would see this situation as a great opportunity and would not be afraid of it. They would grasp it with both hands. They know that in conditions of rapid change, where the social pattern, the way of life of the people is changing and where you have a new proletariat emerging, there you have large numbers of leaderless people. They set out to provide leadership. So should we.

Land-hungry Peasants

Fourthly, *land hunger*. Land hunger, Mao Tse-tung found, was of greater use to him in his revolution than anything else. Long before him, Marx and Engels wrote about the problems of the peasantry. But their line was pretty much that peasants have never in history made a revolution. They have revolted, but no peasant revolt has ever led to the establishment of a new and distinctive society. Then Lenin came along and said that the peasantry could be the allies of the proletariat in their communist revolution. Mao Tse-tung says — and this is a development of Marxist doctrine — that in semi-feudal, semi-colonial conditions, the peasantry — and particularly a land-hungry peasantry — are a naturally revolutionary class. They may not be able alone to make a revolution or establish some new system of society, but side by side with the proletariat and the intellectuals, they can do so. They can add a particular

dynamic force to the revolution. So Mao Tse-tung and other communist leaders say today that where in the newly-developing countries there is land hunger, there the conditions are already present which are conducive not only to the spread of Communism but to the spread of revolution.

I think that we should note in passing that whenever we try to apply the Church's teaching in areas such as these, we talk of the need for land reform and about the need to give the peasant a bit of land. It is all there, clearly stated and at some length in *Mater et Magistra*. It is part of our teaching. But we need to give it reality. We need to give it flesh and bones, because if we do not, the Communists are going to get there before us. They most certainly will campaign for land reform and will promise the peasants land even though they know very well that after the revolution they will take their land back again through collectivisation.

But why leave the Communists to trick the peasants with their promises when we should be offering them the reality?

Corruption crushes the Poorest

Fifthly, *corruption*. Mao Tse-tung believes, and probably with some truth, that corruption, particularly in the last stages of his revolution, helped him as much as anything. Over and over again when I have been talking to communist leaders in Asia and elsewhere, I have been conscious of the same thing. They put tremendous store by the spread of corruption and their promise to end it. Now, any number of countries have gained their independence in the last few years. They have experienced a period of great difficulty and in almost every case—not quite every one—it has not been very long before corruption has begun to spread. It almost seems to be one of the by-products of independence. And this is something which the Communists believe they can use.

Corruption hits the poorest of the poorest of the poor. I remember going back time after time to Pakistan during the years that led up to the present authoritarian regime.

I saw the way in which every one squeezed the man below him. But for the man at the bottom there was no one to squeeze. So he was the one who suffered most. The people reached a point where they were prepared to accept almost any alternative which would promise an end to corruption. Political and economic corruption is something which hits the common people very hard indeed. Against it the Communists can mount a political and an ethical campaign with wide appeal. So they have it both ways.

I would think that if we were trying to produce lay leaders fitted to function in the modern world, we would try to encourage them to go into political life, into every aspect of national life, and we would hammer home as hard as we could the thought that they must be absolute models of incorruptibility. If they are that, then they will have an enormous appeal and, incidentally, they will rob the Communists of something which they hope to be able to exploit for their own purposes.

Instability

Sixthly, *economic and political instability*. These are conditions which follow almost inevitably where you have newly-independent countries. They are also conditions which you find in almost all those countries which are primary producers — which means most of Latin America today, all the single-crop countries, all the banana and cocoa republics. When the Communists talk of political and economic instability, they are thinking of practically every country in Asia, Africa and Latin America. They will, of course, try to increase the instability that exists. You must expect the policies of your local Communist Party in your mission territory to be based on the hope and intention that they can create and increase political and economic instability.

The contribution of Catholic lay men there. I would think, would be that we should make our people alert to this. They should be able to distinguish between legitimate demands by workers and peasants for better conditions and those put forward by Communists with the intention of rocking the boat.

Catholic spokesmen for Justice

Incidentally, peasant agitations are growing in both Latin America and Asia today. Often the Communists are responsible for these, but not always. Where they exist, you must aim to have lay men who can discriminate, who can decide which is a legitimate agitation and which is not. Not every agitation for land for the landless is a communist one. We must expect peasants to agitate for land. This is particularly true where they work all day long on somebody else's land and have no time to work on their own little plot — or have no land at all, living in semi-starvation even while they produce food for others. You must expect such peasants to be discontented, you must expect them to agitate and you must expect the Communists, if they have an organisation, to try and exploit this situation. The course that we should take is, I would think, clear. We should not leave it to the Communists to be the only spokesmen for social justice, the only ones who attempt to find solutions to such real problems.

Anti-communists Divided

Seventhly, *disunity*. Of course, the Communists have been able to use this wherever they have found it. And they create it where it does not exist. To use the communists' own jargon, they try to drive wedges between one section of their opponents and another. They are masters at this. But we must acknowledge that very often it is made easy for them.

I know that when I was in Kerala earlier this year, I was saddened and appalled by the disunity I found there. Here was the only State in the world which once elected a communist government by a free vote of the people. It had had a taste of Communism. Its Catholics had suffered persecution. Then the communist government had been removed as a result of the intervention of the central government. There was an election in which, as a result of an alliance of all the anti-communists, a non-communist government was returned. This was not because the communist vote

had been reduced, but solely because the opponents of Communism sank their differences in order to defeat them.

Yet within a few months that unity was already breaking up with one group elbowing another one out, one religious group pushing another one aside, one sectional interest trying to pursue its own aims at the expense of all others. So today, Kerala is split in half a dozen different ways. The consequence is that the Communist Party is looking forward to the day when it will be back in power. If it goes back next time, it will not be so easily removed. It learned a lot of lessons from its last experience. We do not seem to have learned our lessons so well.

We have got to try to work for unity — unity within our own ranks but a broader unity, too. The threat of Communism, if we are honest about it, does provide us with a basis for this. There are, of course, other and better reasons too, why we should now be coming out of our ghetto and working with others.

Well, these are the conditions which the Communists believe are conducive to the spread of Communism in mission territories. Where they find all present, there they say that the Communist Party has only to build up its numbers and organisations to be on the threshold of the seizure of power.

Communists today would say there are three revolutionary classes in the newly-developing territories.

First, there is the *rootless proletariat*. These are the people I was talking about just now — the new urban populations.

Only a ragged coat to Defend

I was lecturing in one place in Africa to an African audience. I finished my talk and an intelligent-looking man sitting in the front row, got up and said: "I would like to make a point. Mr. Hyde has told us about the evils of Communism. But does he expect us to defend the society in which we live? I suppose he does. But if he expects us to defend it, he is mistaken. Let me speak in personal terms. I am 32 years old. I left school when I was 10 and I am self-educated. I have worked for 22 years and at the end

of 22 years of hard work this is all I own". He held up a ragged old coat and said: "I haven't got anything else in the world after all my years of work. What have I got to defend? This old coat? What have I to lose if Communism comes? This old coat? They can have it if they want it".

Almost every African in the audience — Catholics and non-Catholics alike — nodded his head in agreement.

We only Talk

Oh yes, there are arguments against Communism which sound valid enough when I am talking to an audience like this but which don't sound quite so smart with an audience of that type. Yes, we can show that man that he has something to lose, but we must not think it is self-evident.

Yet the message of the Church exactly corresponds to the needs of such people. We say they should own something, that they have a right to ownership. Our message is exactly what they need, but they are not going to listen to us if we just keep on saying it and do nothing about it. We have got to show that we mean it as well — try to devise ways to ensure that they get that property which would give them some independence, some stake in the land and in the society of which they are supposed to be a part.

A race of frustrated Clerks

The second revolutionary class are the *frustrated intellectuals*. The frustrated intellectual varies according to the different conditions in which you find him. What is certain is that the newly-developing countries today are full of them. We go on churning them out from our mission schools. We give them enough education to educate them away from the land. We educate them away from making their hands dirty, into a white-collar job, and into unemployment too much of the time. Those frustrated intellectuals are to be found in Asian cities, in Africa—particularly, I would say, in West Africa—in Latin America, in enormous numbers. The Communists say they are a naturally revolutionary class, particularly the students and the educated but unemployed people, and the under-employed.

I remember talking to a mission Bishop on one occasion. "You have been in your diocese as priest and Bishop for 22 years", I said. "If you had your life over again, what would you do differently?"

This was not a very fair question, I suppose.

However, he replied: "I think that for every school which I have built of the old type, I would build a technical school or agricultural college. I sometimes feel that in my 22 years I have produced a race of frustrated clerks".

I think you will get his point. You have seen it happening, too.

It does seem to me, at any rate, that if we are going to educate people — and we can claim the greatest credit for this — then we have a responsibility to assist in the development of the society in which they live so that it can absorb those we educate. A society which is simply a producer of raw materials cannot do this. You can, for example, churn out your graduates by the scores of thousands in the Philippines, but as long as the Philippines continue to be mainly producers of raw materials they cannot absorb them all. The same thing is happening in Latin America and elsewhere. I believe that this makes it essential that we should think in terms of how to assist in the development of this society — from inside and by means of aid and every sort of help we can give them from outside, too. We must help to get these areas through this stage as quickly as possible.

Reign of the Moneylender

The third revolutionary class is that of the *landless peasants*. I once met 174 Huk leaders in a prison in the Philippines. They were not the top leaders, I had met those already. These were local commanders of the Huk rebellion. I talked to them, one after another, and tried to trace their case histories to discover why they had become Communists. In every case I was brought back to the land problem. All saw their fight as one for justice, for a better share of the harvest, for more land, etc. The Communists are able to use the landless peasants with tremendous effect today.

The tragedy is that when the Communists go to these people, what do they offer them? They offer them an end of the reign of the moneylender, the merchant, the landowner. When we make any attempt anywhere to apply the Church's social teaching to those same conditions, what do we offer? Basically it is the same: credit unions, producers' co-operatives, things which could break the hold of the merchants, moneylenders and others who hold them down. In short, we have an answer to the very problems the Communists exploit so successfully. They have gone to them, promised them these things knowing that they would not grant them. But by this means they have got their following. They got it in China. We might have done it. We might be doing it elsewhere today. Here and there we do, and when we do it, we do not do it just as a bait. We do it because we believe in it and are willing to stand by it. We have our Catholic social teachings and when they are applied and not just talked about they meet real human needs, they provide real answers. But, too often, we leave it at the level of words.

Poverty and racial Injustice

When I went to Latin America the first time, years ago, someone asked me: "If you were still a Communist and you were sent by Moscow to organise and build up the Communist Party, what would you look for here in Latin America?"

I replied that I would have thought that here was a communist's dream. Everything that I would want was ready to hand. It would simply be a question of producing the leaders and the organisation. I would seize on the extremes of wealth and poverty and build my propaganda around these. It would not then be difficult to build up class hatred. I would look for racial injustice—which you can find in some of the countries of Latin America and, in greater measure, in the other continents which we are discussing. Racial injustice is an explosive thing in the world of today. Something happens in Little Rock, or Notting Hill, London, or in the Republic of South Africa, and it has

its repercussions in almost every country of the world. The Communists are able to rope in new recruits in vital areas as a result of every manifestation of racial injustice. It is a gift to them.

I would look for the maldistribution of land. I would go to the peasants, rub their noses in the fact that they work on the soil but they do not own it—someone else takes the wealth that they produce. I would go to the turbulent student population, which you find in such numbers throughout Latin America, and I would work on their frustrations. Perhaps I should add that, on the basis of seeing Communism at work in almost every part of the world, I think that probably frustration has produced more Communists than hunger. If a man is hungry, suffering from chronic malnutrition, he does not easily become an organised revolutionary.

People of the Ranchos

I would go into industry, exploit the bad human relations which exist there. Incidentally, I hope that you are thinking of the answers as I go along! I would go to the new slum dwellers who exist in such large numbers around every Latin American capital—the people of the ranchos, those who have come in from the rural areas looking for work, finding only unemployment and crowding into the most appalling social conditions. I would not expect them to become great revolutionaries but I would know that they were there ready to be used, to loot and burn and riot in time of public disorder, to throw up their barricades at the call of the Communists. To die at those barricades, if necessary, if we were able to get something going.

If you look at a city like Caracas in Venezuela, you see it is practically surrounded by these people, by those whom the Communists see as the natural cannon fodder of the revolution. Too often no one does anything about them and their problems, though I admit that there are today some honourable exceptions to this.

Men without Faith

I would look for faithless men—men who are nominal

Catholics or who once had a religion which they have now rejected. The Communists know today that it is your faithless man, the one with a spiritual vacuum in his life, who will give most to Communism, do most for it. Communist Parties all over the world tend to build up their membership, and to draw their leaders in particular, from the ranks of those who once had a strongly-held faith and who, spiritually hungry, turn to Communism as a substitute. I would not have to look very far in Latin America to find people in that category.

You will find the same types in growing numbers today in the Muslim countries, too. It does not matter which developing country you go to in Asia, Africa or Latin America; you will find these faithless men who can so easily be used by the Communists. Each one is a challenge to us.

Each of these points I have made is a clear indication to the sort of action which we ought to be contemplating and initiating. I have given you a catalogue of the Communists' opportunities. It is also a catalogue of our duties and opportunities as well. Each of these is a challenge to us. They call for new attitudes, for the acceptance of new responsibilities.

I believe that we need to have people with a better understanding of Communism and communist techniques than has been usual in the past. We have got beyond the stage where we should just be doing propaganda on each other. We need a real understanding of this thing, and by this I do not mean a cartoonist's caricature of it.

Knowledge and leaders Needed

We need to have Marxism taught in our seminaries as it really is, taking into account the fact that its philosophy is believed in and backed by a living, growing movement which has its own dynamic. We need to approach this thing with a greater charity than we have perhaps shown in the past. I would say that lack of charity on the part of Catholic priests and laymen towards the Communists plays into their hands every time. In the days when I

was a communist writer. I used to quote the Catholic press on the subject of Communism in order to show that they deliberately distorted our Communism and that they were not practising the charity they preached. We as Communists were not supposed to practise it—we were supposed to practise dialectical materialism. And we did. It was the Catholics, Christians, who were supposed to practise charity. Too often we found that they did not. So we used it to discredit them.

We need to strengthen the democratic organisations of the societies in which we live and to produce laymen who can go into these organisations and give a clean and decent lead to their members. We need to provide answers to the problems which the Communists exploit, in terms of social doctrine and of assisting social and economic development too. We need to learn to teach people to help themselves, to give them that sort of personal independence where they will not be left leaderless and rootless, for any man to come along and mislead.

We need a laity which knows the Faith far better than do most of our lay people to-day. What was thought good enough even 10 or 15 years ago is not sufficient protection for them now. We need priests who are leaders. I don't think it follows automatically (and I hope you take this in good part) that a priest is necessarily a leader when he leaves the seminary. We need lay leaders, too. You as missionaries cannot produce lay leaders unless you are yourselves leaders. We need people who are dedicated to our cause. Prepared to go anywhere, do anything for the things in which they believe. In whose lives the Faith is the dominant thing, just as Communism is dominant in the life of the Communist. If we can see these needs and meet them, then I believe it will prove to have been extremely good for us to have been faced with such a challenge and to have had to try to answer to it.

(Concluded).

Book Review

THE FOOL HATH SAID

Ward 7 by Valeriy Tarsis; Collins & Harvill Press; pp. 159; 15s. **Winter in England** by Nicholas Wollaston; Hodder & Stoughton; pp. 192; 30s.

THE blurb describes *Ward 7* as "perhaps the most outspoken piece of literature yet to come out of the U.S.S.R.". I think it probably is. The most astonishing thing about this book is that its author, Valeriy Tarsis, is still alive and at liberty. Had this been Stalin's day, he would by this time have been shot or dragging out his last days in Siberia. The change is remarkable. It confirms the thought many of us have had now for several years. Inside Russia, the brutal edge is in process of disappearing from Communism. What remains, however, is something equally dreadful; a people enclosed in drabness, imposed on at all points by the bovine presence of a vast, faceless bureaucracy. The shooting has stopped in the Soviet Union. It still remains a place where government knows better than the citizen what is best for him; where the civil servant impinges at all points in his life; where conformity to state-imposed sameness is regarded as the highest civic virtue. Soviet Russia today is a country where men are expected to give thanks for the standardized second-rate. Those who fail in this respect are many. The more vociferous amongst them are placed now in mental homes like *Ward 7*. The reasoning of the authorities is simple. No sane man could fail to be discontented with the Soviet Paradise. Those who are must be mad, incapable of being held responsible for their actions. The only humane thing to do is to lock them up. There was only one genuine lunatic in *Ward 7*. The rest were men whose only fault was that they wished to be themselves. It is from the lips of one of these that there comes the best definition I know of Soviet Communism: "The apotheosis of drabness, the negation of personality, life on semolina

gruel in a one-roomed flat with a bathroom-lavatory and a combination divan-bed-cupboard-desk-bookcase". This is it exactly; men subject to the all-pervading tyranny of mass-produced mediocrity.

The consoling thing about this otherwise terrifying picture is that men in the Soviet Union today are struggling to free themselves from the grey dreariness of their state-regulated lives. More consoling still is the knowledge that, in this struggle, they are bound to succeed. Stalin, the brutal realist, ruled with a gun. He knew that the system would work in no other way. After his death, popular revulsion forced Khrushchev to lower it. His successors have followed suit. Since the death of the old tyrant, the rulers of Russia have been faced with the impossible task of using persuasion to run a system that can only work through force. They have had to take notice of public opinion, which means, in fact, that they are having to give way. On all fronts the breakthrough is coming—away from imposed uniformity and in favour of individual freedom. The tide is flowing now and cannot be stopped. It will continue to flow until the last vestiges of bureaucratic inhumanity have been swept away. In the life-time of today's middle-aged, we should see the end in Russia of social engineers.

The demise of the system was, of course, certain once men realised that freedom under Communism meant no more than an order to love their chains. The realisation came to many not long after Lenin's triumph. Long before his death he needed a vicious secret police to sustain him in power. Then Stalin drew his gun. Now, the gun is lowered and the secret police are a shadow of their former selves. Public opinion is beginning to take charge. The people of Russia are on their way to the sun. What they want above all is a world where they can be themselves, where each can lead his own life without being pushed around, where a man can pause to breathe, take lovingly to himself and cherish the portion of God's beauty that lies about him; where he can say "to hell with the planners" and stand, if need be in rags, on his own feet.

When that day dawns, it may well be that the West will have need of missionaries from a Russia in resurrection to rescue her from the self-imposed slavery of a materialistic and mechanized civilization. Reading Nicholas Wollaston's admirable book, I was struck by the appalling similarity between the regimented joy of a Butlin's camp and that of thousands herded together to applaud in Moscow's Red Square on May Day; or the gimcrack, outsize hen-coops, which pass in this country for modern homes and the state-enforced constriction of a Soviet family's living quarters; or the planned emptiness of our post-war new towns and the dull impersonality of a Moscow thoroughfare. One essential point of difference sticks out like a sore thumb. The Russians are running away from this kind of hell, striving in the face of a dumb-witted bureaucracy to recover their individuality. We, by contrast, are running into it, striving with the encouragement of an equally dumb bureaucracy, to shed our humanity. As the Russians emerge gasping from the dark night of an enforced oppression, we run empty-headed to create one of our own devising. Whilst their intelligentsia hold high the torch of freedom, our Lilac Establishment tells us it is no more than a piece of old rope. The Russians see now that man without God is nothing. The English tell each other that man without God has all that can be desired; that he is, in fact, the measure of all things; that he must make it his business to build up a world without God. But that, precisely, is where Lenin started. It is a disturbing thought that forty years after his death the English, with God discarded, should find themselves on Lenin's road. It is typical, of course, that we should call this progress. It is also foolishness; but it is the fool who has said in his heart that there is no God. Today in this country, I fear their name is legion.

Paul Crane, S.J.

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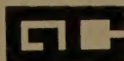
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